2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense, he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year—not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:387

[29] *Ibid.*, 2:358–390

796 ing in and out of church. From the second day on, everybody is drunk, including women and young people. The sound of skyrockets is heard continuously and marks the gaiety of the people.

An important part of the ceremony at the church is to clean carefully the face of the saint and to change his clothes for new or at least clean ones so that he can be happy during his fiesta. Another act is to take his [788] image from the main altar to carry it in procession. This is important because there is 796 danger that the patron of other villages may 796 come to steal his power and he would then lose influence over the crops: the saint of Oxchuc helps the growth of corn, the one of Cancuc protects the cotton, and so on. To avoid this danger a substitute image is put in his place while the real one is taken out.

[P. 222-B]

796 This substitute is called *gelol*, the same im-
796 age but smaller, which is kept next the original one.

[788] During the procession the saint is carried
[782] in a litter. Incense is burned before him,
[533] while music with drums and flutes is played.

Traditional Ceremonies

796 There are other ceremonies held in the
[177] parajes which, although based on Christian
[178] ritual (including some of the prayers, presence of the cross, candles, etc.), still manifest ancient aboriginal traditions. Among
[176] these ceremonies is the one made before the house altar to Chulmetic (the earth goddess), to God, to Tatik Jesucristo and the 13 Fiadores del Cielo, for the soul of one newborn, to guard against sicknesses or bad influences of any kind. This ceremony is

[P. 222-C]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians 788 today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the 177 Catholic Church.
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The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to 793 him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples [535] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 527 789 *First house fiesta.* In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

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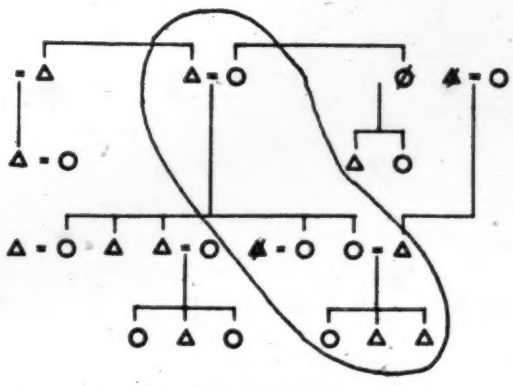

* Encircled group will live in house.

342 527 756 788 The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed

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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial (*young male assistants*). *He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:*

[782]
[839]

> *May no witchcraft enter.*
> *May all the children be cared for.*
> *I can see and hear who enters.*
> *Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.*

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served.

[273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 527 774 788 spring. The gourd is used as a container for the springwater because, like all growing plants and unlike metal or glass containers, it has a soul. The soul of the tobacco plant is considered particularly strong. The smoke of the candles and incense are the media through which prayers to the spirit [782] of the house are transmitted.

342 527 788 776 533 The house fiesta serves three functions: (1) introducing the spirit of the house inmates to the house spirit, (2) creating a harmonious setting for spiritual interaction of the members of the household and the house spirit, (3) protecting the house against the intrusion of evil. The introduction is achieved by brushing the household members with the branches from the spring, and the harmony is brought about by drinking liquor, playing the guitar, and dancing. The music of the seed gourd, the guitar, and sometimes a radio or phonograph makes the residents, their guests, and the house spirit happy, or "of one heart." Protection is insured by [789] nailing the palm crosses representing the Lord of the Lightning to the house posts.

342 527 782 756 *Second house fiesta* ("meal for the house"). When a meal is given to the spirit of the house earth, the house is arranged as for the house fiesta with curing arches set in front of the center posts at the back and middle walls. The same guests are invited as for the first fiesta. The family buys a sheep and slaughters it in the morning by stringing it up to the center post by it paws and slashing its jugular vein. When the blood has drained into the square hole opened at the base of the center post, the curer removes the head and buries it in the hole. Some curers bury the four paws as well, while others prefer to add an offering of five pieces of bread in a new pottery jar, twenty measures of chocolate, thirteen cigarettes, and a bottle of liquor covered with a new cloth. The head of the sheep is placed so that the eyes look up to watch over the inhabitants. Some refer to it as the *me?iltatil*, identifying it with the curers (who are called me?iltatil in the context of guardianship) and thus with the ancestor guardians.

During the house fiesta I observed in July 1967, an old curer who had officiated at the first ceremony served again. A neighbor, who was not related to the houseowners but who was skilled in butchering, slaughtered

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continually throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

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241 825 *they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright. Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.*

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

[291] *When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.*

241 825 782 788 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent candles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal: "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God, holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

241 776 784 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spirits of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nixtamal.*

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun.

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34).

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done.

The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman."

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them.

Santo Tomás [*the patron saint of Oxchuk*] *had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted* [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel* [*neighboring towns*] *asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.*

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20).

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.*

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent.

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo?ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

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In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme?ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat?o?tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo?ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo?onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo?ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

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síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sni?ik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.*

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [*Chapter 9*]. *The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president*[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

621 527 788 [794] [554]

The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession. The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

4. The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 527 [788] [554] *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

[794] [782] *Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

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527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos.* [788] *Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The niʔnal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house.* [273] *After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.*

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving* [533] *three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest.* [454] *It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the patʔoʔtan is recited and drinks are served.*

621
554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

?i Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

Table 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Lucía	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

533 In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles
788 burned and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for
794 three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are
273 added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

273 During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cig-
276 arettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safe-
794 guards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great impor-
273 tance to the fiesta.
539

794 796 *aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."*

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the pat?o?tan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the pat?o?tan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] *The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the pat?o?tan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.*

[535] *After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same pattern described above. The dancing was followed by a procession to the* • [788] *church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.*

[788] *In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places so the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly appointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.

The final day, called Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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794
796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[188] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the*
[262] *mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church.

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect.

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains.

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles.

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass.

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

346 776 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl. with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..ıg for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 571 562 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congregate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 621 875 [177] [178] Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assistance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unintegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me'eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex-

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior. 121 [024]

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our [114] [124]

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is sni?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963). 121 124 193 [788] [804] [114]

[P. 210-B]

Change of Officials

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzo?ontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *me?il k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nič'anil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *pat?ot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is sni?ik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church.

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

[R 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office.

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent"

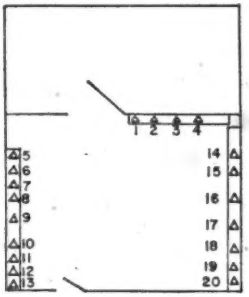

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials.

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the

[P. 217-B]

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

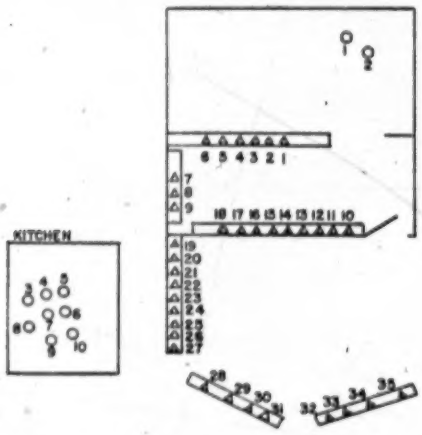

CHART 6 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):

1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanchesik*

MEN (triangles):

1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialetik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

[P. 218-A]

621*
"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] 788 •
who the new officials to remain in office are." 554
693

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the 621*
mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials
as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). 794
The new officials "speak to God," asking for health [782]
so that they can complete their obligation to the town.
They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave [788]
the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the 621*
townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of 273
liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten [794]
policemen from the two sides of the dual division and [625]
the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask
him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The par- [693]
don to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the [782]
principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who [431]
knows the *pat?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The [537]
president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the 794
fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and 796
on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wiiperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?-tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local [362]
standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaj na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new [537]
mayordomos" *(mamal ?aj martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[P. 218-B]

Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias,* are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

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Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities.

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor,

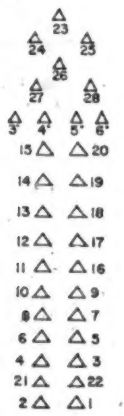

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3-6 Alfereces
23 Guitarist *(alpultero)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomese si?bak)*
26 Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'ayobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods.

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MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

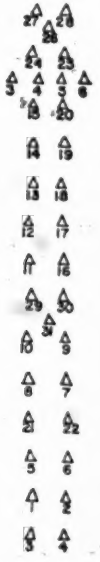

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

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ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church.

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment.

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

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public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

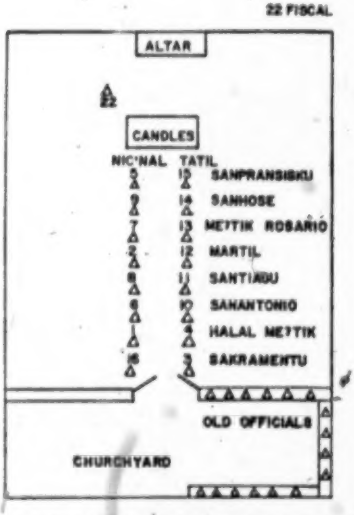

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#62 124 796 693 576 • [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe soltak tuyipal č'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
#62 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *halnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *me?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time.
[202] [625]				Two past regidores came to the *me?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
	[23. Omitted.]			
#62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *santik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Madronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
				and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo
[539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—5 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 794 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alfereces go out with their banners	The alfereces go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alfereces. Flute and drum began as alfereces came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out, knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1:05
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *naka-wane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alfereces do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alfereces leave their banners in the church

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*621
105
192
554

	KRINSIPALETIK, principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
	?AČ'?A?TELETIK, new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Gives oath
Plaza, noon	*TEKLUM*, Village (people) *Spisil Me?eletik*, all the women *Spisil Winketik*, all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
[788]	*?AČ'?A?TELETIK*, new officials		Make two turns in procession
[794]	*?ALPERESETIK*, alfereces		Lead procession with banners
[794]	*BALNIALETIK*, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
[794] Church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK*, mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	PIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	?AČ' A?TELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*?AČ' A?TELETIK*, new officials		Drink with *krinsipaletik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials